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POLITICS AND FINE ARTS

MEMOIRS

OF

THE PILGRIMS AT LEYDEN.

BY

GEORGE SUMNER, Esq.,

FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF BERLIN; HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF MADRID; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF ATHENS AND OF POICTIERS, ETC.

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MEMOIRS.

THE position and privileges enjoyed by the founders of Plymouth Colony, during their ten years' residence in the Netherlands, would seem to be not very clearly defined. Every one, who has examined this part of the history of our Pilgrim forefathers, must, I think, have been struck by the discrepancies in regard to it, which occur in the different statements that we have before us.

Robertson, Burke (in his *European Settlements in America*), and many other English writers of less name, represent their condition in any but favorable colors; and the disparaging statements of these authors have, in some cases, been adopted by Americans at home. The principal among these is the learned Chief-Justice Marshall, who speaks of the Pilgrims * as "an obscure sect which had acquired the appellation of Brownists," and which was forced to remove to Leyden. He then continues:—"There they resided several years in safe obscurity. This situation at length became irksome to them. Without persecution to give importance to the particular points which separated them from their other Christian brethren, they made no converts"; and then, as a cause for their removal to America, he asserts, that, "in the extinction of their church, they dreaded, too, the loss of those high attainments in spiritual knowledge which they deemed so favorable to truth."

The sneer contained in this passage was not necessary for the announcement of a historical fact, and it is evident that the Chief Justice has adopted the tone as well as

* Marshall's *Life of Washington*, Vol. I., p. 93.

the statement of Robertson. For this passage the author has given no authority, although Robertson, Hutchinson, and Chalmers are referred to as general authorities at the close of the chapter.*

Other writers, again, have represented in somewhat glowing colors the hospitality which was extended to the Pilgrims in Leyden, the unity which reigned among them while there, the attentions shown them by the magistrates, and the honors rendered to the remains of their pastor by the professors and learned men of the University.†

The time has gone by, when the just fame which has been won by those men who planted a nation can be either lessened or magnified by the recital of honors that they may have received in by-gone years; and one may search freely for the truth in regard to them, conscious, that, in developing that, small injury can be done to their memory.

I know not whether I deceive myself, but I am disposed to believe that much of what has been written in regard to the position in Holland of the founders of Plymouth Colony is erroneous; and that, although they were far from exciting, on the part of the Dutch people and magistrates, those feelings of contempt and ill-will towards themselves, the existence of which has been so often charged by their enemies, yet they were equally far from

* See *Life of Washington*, Vol. I., p. 93; also Young's *Pilgrims*, p. 48, note. Chief-Justice Marshall altered these expressions in a subsequent work, but did not pass, however, without experiencing severe reproaches from others, and particularly from the author of the *American Annals*, for the opinion he had uttered. "The historian," says Holmes, "who tells us that the Puritans removed from Leyden into the American wilderness because they were obscure and unpersecuted, must not expect to be believed." *American Annals*, Vol. I., Note XXI.; see also Vol. I., p. 159. In Bozman's *History of Maryland*, p. 376, is a reply to the author of the *Annals*, and a defence of the obnoxious expressions of Chief-Justice Marshall.

† In a work published during the present year at Leipsic, *Die Geschichte der Congregationalisten in Neu-England bis* 1740, *von* H. F. Uhden (*History of the Congregationalists in New England until* 1740), the idea of the author, drawn from the American authorities that he had consulted (among which is Cotton Mather), would appear to be, that the Pilgrims were enjoying, while in Holland, a good degree of worldly prosperity. The author of this book is a clergyman at Berlin, and was one of the deputation sent in 1841-2, by the king of Prussia, to inspect the state of the English church. The book itself was written at the suggestion of Dr. Neander, and, although in a foreign language, will prove, I believe, a valuable addition to our historical literature. The author has drawn largely from Backus, a writer whose candor and moderation seem not to be appreciated in America as they merit.

experiencing any excess of kind attention and magisterial favor.

This opinion is the result of some special observations that I have been enabled to make in Holland, and it is the same which, as it strikes me, must be formed by all who examine the writings preserved to us of those who were constantly with the little band, from the time of their quitting England, in 1608, until their arrival in America. The authority of these writings (which have been recently brought before the public in a most excellent form by Mr. Young, accompanied by his valuable notes) is superior to that of any of the different historians who wrote at a later day. While the small, struggling colony was exposed to obloquy in England, and was fighting its way painfully along, against opposition, religious, political, and commercial, it was hardly to be expected that a historian devoted to its interest would neglect to avail himself of any thing which might appear, *at that time*, to reflect credit upon it. It was not the historian, but the advocate, who wrote. Remembering this, one may perhaps see a reason why "the careful Morton" has at times slightly colored some passages from Governor Bradford's *Journal*, and why Cotton Mather has drawn in many cases from authorities which Morton must have known, but which he does not appear to have regarded, and has, in other cases, made statements for which it would seem to require more than an ordinary degree of research to find any authority whatever.

I propose to examine some points in relation to the position of the Pilgrims while in Holland, and particularly the attentions that may have been extended to them by the Dutch people and magistrates.

But first let us see what was their position as shown by the best authority we possess, the writings of Governor Bradford.

Having seen six of their fellow-men—"men of piety and learning"—executed in England for their religious belief, their own friends put into prison, and themselves watched night and day that charges might be brought against them, they at length resolved, when all hopes of toleration

at home had fled, to remove to the Low Countries, "where they heard was freedom of religion for all men."*

After making one unsuccessful attempt to leave England, suffering arrest and imprisonment from the Lincolnshire magistrates, encountering in a second attempt the perils of a violent storm, and being in imminent danger of shipwreck in the German Ocean, one part of these Pilgrims, among which Bradford is supposed to have been, arrived in the spring of 1608 at Amsterdam. Here they found countrymen who, like themselves, had suffered persecution for religion's sake; but, remaining only a few months, they removed, at the end of 1608 or beginning of 1609, to Leyden.†

"Being now here pitched," says Bradford, "they fell to such trades and employments as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever; and at length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living, and with hard and continual labor." When, however, in another place, he is naming the motives of the removal to America, a somewhat different tone is used. "And first, they found and saw by experience the hardness of the place and country to be such as few in comparison would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out and continue with them. For many that came to them, and many more that desired to be with them, could not endure the great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences, which they underwent and were contented with. . . . . Many, though they desired to enjoy the ordinances of God in their purity, and the liberty of the gospel with them, yet, alas, they admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships; *yea, some preferred and chose prisons in England, rather*

* See Bradford's *Journal*, Young, p. 23.

† Bradford says of Leyden, that, "wanting that traffic by sea which Amsterdam enjoyed, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estates." Young's *Pilgrims*, p. 35. This may be so; yet Leyden was at that time the principal manufacturing town of the Netherlands, and one of the most important in Europe. As many of the early colonists were weavers (see Young, note, p. 35), is it not reasonable to suppose that their removal to Leyden was caused by the fact that they would there more readily meet with employment than at Amsterdam? The cloth manufacture of Amsterdam, during the first half of the seventeenth century, was very trifling, when compared with that of Leyden.

than this liberty in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought, that, if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many and take away these discouragements; yea, their pastor would often say that many of those that both writ and preached now against them, if they were *in a place where they might have liberty and live comfortably, they would then practise as they did.*" *

Again, "They saw, that, although the people generally bore all their difficulties very cheerfully and with a resolute courage, being in the best of their strength, yet old age began to come on some of them, and their *great and continual labors*, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before the time." Again, their children "were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labors, that, although their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same and became decrepit in their early youth." † And again, "They lived here but as men in exile and in a poor condition." ‡

This certainly does not show that they were living in a state of holiday comfort; neither is there here, nor throughout the writings of Governor Bradford, any evidence of kind attentions on the part of the Dutch people and magistrates. § On the contrary, we have, in different passages of his journal, strong evidence that no such favors were extended to them.

When he replies to the charge made by Baylie in his tract, ‖ that the Pilgrims were driven out from Holland, and that the Dutch were weary of them, Bradford would naturally cite the strongest facts that could be found to prove the contrary; but the most he says is, that the Dutch, finding them painful and diligent in their callings, and careful in keeping their word, gave them employ-

* Young, p. 45. † Ibid. p. 46. ‡ Ibid. p. 51.

§ It is curious to see how some passages from Bradford's journal have been *colored* by those who have made use of it. Bradford says of the Pilgrims (Young, p. 35), "Enjoying [in Holland] much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort *together*, in the ways of God," &c., &c. Morton omits the word "together," and adds in its place, "*being courteously entertained* and *lovingly respected* by the Dutch, amongst whom they were strangers." p. 18, Davis's edition. Prince, also, in giving this same passage from Bradford, says, they "live in great love and harmony both among themselves *and their neighbour citizens* for above eleven years."

‖ *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times*, by Robert Baylie, of Glasgow, 1645.

ment in preference to others less diligent and honest; and secondly, that the magistrates once reproved the Walloons by telling them that they were less peaceful than the English. "These English," said they, "have lived amongst us now this twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them. But your strifes and quarrels are continual." * Another thing Bradford states, that Robinson, their pastor, disputed with Episcopius at the University, in such a way as to gain him "much honor and respect *from those learned men and others which loved the truth.*" †

Had there been any proofs of courteous entertainment and kind respect, — had there been any magisterial attentions extended, any church granted, any respect shown at the grave of their pastor, ‡ here would have been the place to mention it. But on all these Bradford is silent, and we have the strongest proof that no magisterial attentions were shown, in his statement, that "it was said by some of no mean note [in Leyden], that, *were it not for giving offence to the state of England, they would have preferred him* [Robinson] *otherwise, if he would, and allowed them some public favor.*" §

Fear of offending England would, no doubt, operate strongly in Holland to prevent any favors being extended to those who made part of a sect persecuted by the English king at home, openly denounced by him in his speeches, and exposed, even in a foreign land, to the annoying surveillance of his ministers and agents. ‖ In the *Annales du Pays Bas* of Grotius, one sees continual evi-

* Young, p. 39.

† That is, perhaps, among those who opposed Episcopius. But his opponents were, for a long time, a minority at Leyden, the towns-people and magistrates being in his favor. In 1617, there was an outbreak and violent quarrel between the two parties, which lasted several days. An old engraving in *Les Délices de Leide* represents the Stadt House and the barricades near it, that were thrown up at that time to form a sort of citadel within the town.

‡ Although Bradford was not present at the time of Robinson's death, yet, as he commenced his journal in 1630, five years after that event, he might have availed himself of a circumstance which, had it transpired, must have come to his knowledge.

§ Young, p. 42.

‖ See Young's *Pilgrims*, p. 467, note, for confirmation of this. A letter from Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador at the Hague, published with his letters, announces that he had not succeeded in arresting Brewster (Elder Brewster), as "the schout *who was employed by the magistrates* for his apprehension, being a dull, drunk-

dence of the feelings excited in Holland by the actions of the English, and one may infer from that how little disposed the people of that country would be to provoke the enmity of a nation the calculating friendship of which had been so distasteful to them.*

As to the attentions of the people and magistrates, the principal which have been alleged are, 1st. That a church was granted the Pilgrims to worship in; and, 2d. That the funeral of their pastor was honorably attended by the University and principal men of the city.

I believe that neither of these attentions was shown, and also that the original error in regard to them may be traced to the *Brief Narration* of Winslow, republished in Young's *Pilgrims*, and to the note on page 160 of Prince's *New England Annals*.

The statement, that a church was granted, rests solely upon the authority of Prince, who says, "When I was at Leyden, in 1714, the most ancient people from their parents told me, that the city had such a value for them [the Pilgrims], as to let them have one of their churches, in the chancel whereof he [Robinson] lies buried, which the English still enjoy; and that, as he was had in high esteem both by the city and University, for his learning, piety, moderation, and excellent accomplishments, the magistrates, ministers, scholars, and most of the gentry mourned his death as a public loss, and followed him to the grave." †

No one prior to Prince has mentioned this; there is no intimation of it in Bradford's journal, in Morton, Hubbard, or even in Cotton Mather; and Prince, who has

en fellow, took one man for another." The charge upon which Brewster was to be arrested in a foreign country by English agents would appear to be the printing of books obnoxious to the English king. It tells little for the independence of the Dutch magistrates, that such arrests could be tolerated and aided by them. Let us hope, for their honor, that the employment of a scout so besotted as to mistake his prey was an intentional act on their part.

The unjust influence in Holland of the English government was shown at a later day by the persecution to which Locke was subjected, during the time of his residence in that country. The English minister at the Hague demanded, it will be remembered, that he should be given up, and Locke could only avoid arrest by a strict concealment for twelve months. See Lord King's *Life of Locke*.

* The people of Leyden, in particular, had shown strong opposition to the proceedings of Leicester. See the *Annales*. There is an allusion, also, in Lingard to this feeling at Leyden.

† *Annals*, p. 160, edit. 1736.

generally enjoyed the highest reputation for accuracy,* adopted, I believe, with too little inquiry, the statement of the most ancient people of Leyden. From the words in relation to the church, — "which the English still enjoy," — it is clear to me that his informants were not thinking of the Separatist congregation which had been one hundred years before in Leyden, but of the English Presbyterian church, which, by a somewhat remarkable coincidence, was founded in Leyden in 1609, the same year, or within a few months of the time, that the Pilgrims arrived there. It is certain that this church, whose pastor from 1609 to 1616 was Robert Durie, was the only English congregation which, in 1714, had a public place of worship at Leyden, and it is the only one that is noticed by the different historians of Leyden as having ever possessed a church. As it is possible that the presence of this congregation may create some confusion in future inquiries as to the church of the Pilgrims, I have thought it well to add in a note some account of their coming to Leyden, of their different pastors, and of the various places of worship which they enjoyed.† At the time of Prince's visit to Leyden, in 1714, this congregation, under the pastoral care of Robert Milling, was worshipping in a chapel formed of part of the ground-floor of the *Falyde Bagyn Hof Kerk.* This chapel — now (1842) the dissecting-room of the College of Medicine — continued in the hands of the English until 1807, when, their last pastor dying, the congregation was dispersed; and it is this chapel which, from being shown to American travellers as the old church of the English, has, I believe, been sometimes supposed by them to have been the church of the Pilgrims.‡

Another error in this passage from Prince relates to

* "The careful Thomas Prince," says Bancroft, Vol. I., p. 324, "who merits the gratitude of the inquirer for his judgment and research as an annalist." Davis also alludes to him, in a note to Morton's *New England's Memorial*, as "the accurate compiler."

† See Note A., at the end of this article.

‡ See Young's *Pilgrims*, p. 393, note, where is an extract from a letter of Mrs. Adams, wife of President John Adams, dated Sept. 12th, 1786. "I would not omit to mention that I visited the church at Leyden, in which our forefathers worshipped when they fled from hierarchical tyranny and persecution. I felt a respect and veneration, upon entering the doors, like what the ancients paid to their Druids."

the burial-place of Robinson. "In the chancel whereof he lies buried." Now Robinson was not buried in the chancel of the church in which he had preached (if he had preached in any), but under the pavement of the aisle of the Peter's Church, the former cathedral; and this I shall show farther on by two separate records of his interment.*

Had Robinson's congregation enjoyed any church, it must have been by an act of the magistrates; for, after the Reformation in Holland, the control of all church buildings and ecclesiastical funds was transferred to the civil authorities. These funds are in part preserved to the present day, and the payment of all clergymen, of different denominations, is still, in the Netherlands, one of the regular expenses of the state.† With some difficulty, I obtained permission to have the *Dagboek* of the magistrates of Leyden examined, for 1608, 1609, and 1620; and although the grant made to the English congregation, of which I have just spoken, of a chapel attached to Saint Catherine's Almshouse, is there recorded, yet no notice was to be found of any church being granted to, or of any magisterial act being performed in favor of, any other English congregation.‡

* To one at a distance, on looking at these passages from Prince in connection with the fact of Robinson's burial at the Peter's Church, the idea might suggest itself that it was that — the Cathedral Church — which had been granted to his congregation. But, besides that the records of the Peter's Church show nothing of the kind, a moment's reflection will make clear its improbability. To the other English congregation, which they were not prevented through fear of England from favoring, the magistrates only granted the use of a small chapel, the Catherine's, which served, at the same time, for the French Protestants. (See Note A.) To a sect with which they had no communion, and which they feared to favor, they would not be likely to give up their own "high-church."

† The different churches in the Netherlands are now under the control of two departments, one of which is devoted to the Protestant, the other to the Catholic church. At the head of each department is a Director-General, whose rank and pay are but little lower than those of a cabinet minister. The expenses of religion are paid entirely by the state, unless a congregation see fit to give their pastor more than the regular salary assigned to him. The budget for 1843 of the Director-General of the Reformed Church is of 1,432,142 florins, of forty cents American each. Of this sum, 1,058,807 florins is for the Reformed (Calvinist) churches; 34,940 florins for the Lutheran; 9,900, for the Anabaptists; 21,000 florins for the Remonstrants; and 22,350 florins for Jewish Rabbis, and repairs of the synagogues. Of the remainder, 31,800 florins are taken up by the expenses of the department, including 8,000 florins, the salary of the Director-General, and the rest is devoted to the education of small children of the different sects.

The budget of the Catholic direction is of 520,000 florins. Since the separation of Belgium, this department has lost much of its former importance.

‡ Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, says (Vol. I., p. 577), under date 1595: — "The violent proceedings of the bishops drove great numbers of the Brownists into

Again, there are two very voluminous histories of Leyden; one, the *Beschrijving der Stadt Leyden, door* Orlers, 4to., Leyden, 1641; the other, *Beschrijving der Stad Leyden, door* Van Mieris, 3 vol., fol., Leyden, 1762; in both of which the history of each church is given separately, as is also that of the small chapels attached to the different almshouses. These notices are written with great apparent accuracy, and certainly with great minuteness, — many pages being often devoted to the smallest *Gasthuys Kapelletje*, every change in its different occupants mentioned, the acts of the magistrates in relation to it recorded, and in some cases the putting of new planks to the floor, or fresh whitewash upon the walls, most faithfully chronicled. Yet, with all this minuteness, I can find in neither of these books any allusion whatever to the presence in Leyden of any other English community than that of which I have before spoken.

I think that the absence of all record at Leyden, and the absence of all notice in the early writings of the Pilgrims, give strong grounds for believing that no church was granted to them, and I may cite again that passage of Bradford's journal in which he states, that, but for fear of offending England, they would have received some public favor. The public favor to be shown would certainly be the granting them a public place of worship.

I am myself convinced that no regular church was granted them, and I am disposed to believe that their religious assemblies were held in some hired hall, or in the

Holland, where their leaders, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Jacob, and others, *were gone beforehand, and, with the leave of the States, were erecting churches*," &c. For this statement he gives no authority, and his accuracy in facts would seem to be no greater than in dates. In his second volume, p. 47, he alludes to the treaty with Queen Elizabeth, under which Presbyterian churches were erected in the Netherlands. In Note A., I shall give the fourteenth clause of the treaty of 1585, the only *early* treaty between England and the Netherlands, containing a stipulation upon matters of religion; but I am unable to find in the records of the States General, which I examined at the Hague, any thing to justify the first statement of Neal. There is, indeed, a short notice, on the 5th October, 1596, stating that the propositions of several English, in different cities, on matters of religion, were advertised, in order that the cities might know of them in time; but I can find nothing further in the records relating to English religious affairs, up to 1620, the point at which my examination stopped. What the propositions were does not appear. The following is a copy of the record: —

" 1596, Octob. 5. — Is openinge en advertentie gedaan van het geene by eenige van de Engelsche Natie in verscheide steeden op het stuk van de Religie word voorgestelt, ten einde de Steeden willen in tyds daar op letten dat egeene inconvenienten daar uit en koomen te onstaan."

house of Robinson, their pastor. That it was not uncommon, at that time, for different sects in the Netherlands to hold religious meetings in private houses, we have the authority of Cardinal Bentivoglio, who, in his *Relazione di Fiandra*, tells us, that "the public exercises of religion are not permitted in the cities to any sect but the Calvinists, neither is it allowed that any other doctrines than theirs shall be taught publicly in the schools. The exercises of all others are permitted in private houses, which are in fact as if public, the places of preaching being spacious and of sufficient size for any assembly." * No allusion to their place of worship can, I believe, be found in any of the original writings of the Pilgrims,

* "Non vien permesso però l' esercitio publico nelle città se non a' Calvinisti, come ho accennato di sopra; nè si consente, che s' insegni altra dottrina publicamente nelle scuole, che quella della lor setta. A tutte l' altre è permesso l' esercitio nelle case private; che si possono dir però come publiche, predicandosi in luoghi spatiosi, e capaci d' ogni concorso." Bentivoglio, *Relazione di Fiandra*, Parte II., Cap. II.

Both Bancroft, in his *History*, and Young, in his notes, have referred to Bentivoglio, as authority for statements made in their respective writings. The former says, Vol. I., p. 302, — "His [Robinson's] congregation inspired the nuncio of Rome with respect"; and Young, in a note on p. 43, says, — "The English Separatists in Holland attracted the notice of Cardinal Bentivoglio." I should feel great delicacy in differing from either of these accomplished writers, but I must confess my inability to find in Bentivoglio's writings any allusion either to "*Robinson's* congregation," or to "the English *Separatists*," in Holland. There is, however, in immediate connection with the passage I have cited above, an allusion to certain *Puritani d'Inghilterra;* but does not that apply to the different English and Scottish Presbyterian congregations which were at that time collected in most of the large towns of the Netherlands? (See Note A.) These congregations, of which Ames, Parker, and others were the preachers, were known as *Puritans;* while Robinson's church at Leyden, and Johnson's at Amsterdam, were known only as Brownists or Separatists. In Governor Bradford's *Dialogue* (see Young, p. 436), he speaks of "those reproached by the name of Puritans" as persons quite distinct from "those that are reproached by the name of Brownists and Separatists."

Again, Bentivoglio makes no allusion to the English Puritans being at Leyden, but says, after naming the towns in which the principal heretical sects are distributed: — "I Puritani Inglesi sono in Amsterdam quasi tutti per l' istesso rispetto [occasione del traffico]; e se ne trattengono alcuni medesimamente per occasione di mercantia nella città di Midelburgo in Zelanda." I am not aware that any Separatist congregation existed at Middleburg, except for a few years prior to 1589, — during the time, in fact, that Brown was taking refuge in that city; there was, however, in that place, an English Presbyterian church, connected with the English factory, for this was a place of much resort for English traders. In Bradford's *Dialogue* (see Young, p. 424), he tells us that Johnson, who afterwards became the teacher of the Separatists at Amsterdam, was preacher, at one time, "to the company of English of the Staple of Middleburg," — and the Presbyterian church formed of that company is the one, I should suppose, to which Bentivoglio alludes.

I do not find, in other parts of Bentivoglio's writings, any passage which shows that he was acquainted with the existence of a sect of Separatists distinct from the Puritans or Presbyterians. In his essay *Dello Stato della Religione in Scotia*, he speaks of the Catholics and *Puritans* as being the two sects of the country; and in his other essay, *Della Religione in Inghilterra*, he alludes to *three* sects, — first the Catholics, then the Protestant Calvinists, — and continues, — "Sono in gran numero ancora in Inghilterra i puri Calvinisti che si chiamano Puritani."

nor in those of any other person prior to Prince. Neal, who wrote about the same time, says that "they hired a meetinghouse,"* although for this he gives no authority. A passage in Winslow's *Narration* speaks of the house of Robinson as *being large*, and that it was the place of the feast which was prepared for the Pilgrims at their departure, by those who remained at Leyden.† If large enough for this purpose, it certainly would be large enough for their usual meetings, and, considering the straitened circumstances in which they were, it is hardly probable that more than one large building would be hired by them.

When I found from the *Record of Interments*, preserved at the Stadt House in Leyden, the spot of Robinson's dwelling at the time of his decease, I had hoped to settle this point satisfactorily to my own mind; but his house was probably taken down a few years after his death, as a row of small buildings now occupies its site, which were put there about the year 1650.

2. As to the attentions shown at the grave of Robinson. In addition to the concluding part of the note from Prince, which I have before cited, there is the following passage in Winslow's *Brief Narration*. "When God took him away from them and us by death, the University and ministers of the city accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities, bewailing the great loss that not only that particular church had whereof he was pastor, but some of the chief of them sadly affirmed that all the churches of Christ sustained a loss by the death of that worthy instrument of the gospel." ‡

Cotton Mather§ has followed this, using Winslow's words almost *verbatim*. Hubbard mentions his death, without any comment upon the conduct of the Dutch.‖ Neal, in his *History of New England*, says nearly the same as Winslow, whom he mentions in his preface as one of the principal authorities on which he relied. "They lamented his death as a public loss; and, though he

* *History of New England*, p. 81.

† "They, I say, that stayed at Leyden, feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice." See Young, p. 384.

‡ See Young, p. 392. § *Magnalia*, p. 46, Book I., Vol. I. ‖ Hubbard, p. 96.

never had been of their communion, they did him the honor to attend his body to the grave." *

I believe that all these statements in relation to attentions at the grave are incorrect. Prince, in his account of them, uses language somewhat similar to that of Winslow, although he does not refer to him as an authority, but states that he derived his information from the "most ancient people" of Leyden. In the matter of a grant of a church, which he took from the same authority, I have perhaps shown that there is some cause to doubt the memory of these most ancient people; and their accuracy, perhaps, was no greater in relation to the circumstances of the funeral. The original authority for this statement would appear to be Winslow, who was not, however, in Holland at the time of Robinson's death (1625), but in Plymouth, and who could of course speak only from hearsay. For a point of greater importance than this, it might be well to inquire how far a book written under the circumstances of the *Brief Narration*, — an advocate defending his client, — may be safely relied upon as historical authority.† The statement of Winslow has been followed ever since; but, had a circumstance so flattering to the memory of their former pastor and to the remaining part of his congregation occurred, would it not have been mentioned by all the earlier writers, and particularly by Morton, whose history, compiled in great part from Bradford's journal, was published several years after this statement had been made? He, however, has no allusion to it. Would it not also have been mentioned by the persons of Robinson's congregation who attended him to the grave, and who, in their letters to their former companions at Plymouth, give minute particulars of his death? Copies of these letters are preserved in Bradford's letter-book, which has been printed in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society;* but upon any honors or friendly attentions shown to them at that time they are silent.‡

* Neal's *New England*, p. 123. † See Note B.

‡ The letter of Roger White, dated Leyden, April 28th, 1625, says: — "It hath pleased the Lord to take out of this vale of tears your and our loving and faithful pastor and my dear brother, Mr. John Robinson, who was sick some eight days, beginning first to be sick on a Saturday morning; yet the next day, being the Lord's day, he taught us twice; and the week after grew every day weaker than other,

But another evidence against the correctness of the statement of Winslow and Prince is the fact, that the plague was raging in Leyden at the time of Robinson's death, and that, during the prevalence of that disorder, all public funerals were suspended. This I find to have been customary in Leyden, even if the deceased had not been ill of the prevailing malady. Roger White, in his letter, alludes to the prevalence of the plague; and in the book of records of interments in Leyden, I found a corroboration of this in the large number of deaths that daily occurred. In one church alone, twenty-five persons were buried in a single day, and this only three days before Robinson's death. In the lists of other churches, whole families would appear to have been buried at the same time; the names of husband, wife, and three or more children appearing, in several cases, upon the register.

The attentions of the professors and learned men would not, I believe, be lessened by the poverty of him whom they thought worthy; and, although it proves nothing in this immediate connection, yet it may not be uninteresting to know the manner of Robinson's interment.

It was not without some difficulty that I found at Leyden the place of Robinson's grave, being misled at first by the statement of Prince, that he was buried in a church which had been granted to his congregation. Having sought at the Stadt House and at other places for some record, without success, I at last, in a small closet attached to the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, full of old dust-covered volumes, fell upon one which contained a record of the receipts of the different churches in Leyden, from 1619 to 1629. Most of these receipts were for burial-fees; and, on looking over the lists of each church for the year 1625, the year of Robinson's death, I found the receipt for his interment at the Peter's Kerk, the church in which I then was. The title of this manuscript volume

yet felt no pain but weakness all the time of his sickness. The physic he took wrought kindly, in man's judgment; yet he grew every day weaker than other, feeling little or no pain, yet sensible till the very last. Who fell sick the 22d of February, and departed this life the 1st of March. He had a continual inward ague, which brought the ——— but, I thank the Lord, *was free of the plague*, so that all his friends could come freely to him." See *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1794, Vol. III., p. 39; also, Young's *Pilgrims*, p. 478.

is *Blaffaarden van de Hooft-Kerken, Ad.* 1619 *tot* 1629; and the receipt for Robinson's burial, an attested fac-simile of which I send with this,* is in the following words:

1625. 10 Mart. } Openen en huer van Jan Robens engels predekant——9 florins.

Open and hire for John Robens English preacher——9 florins.

This sum of nine florins † is the lowest paid for any person whose burial is recorded. Mr. De Pecker, who, under the Director-General at the Hague, is the administrator of the affairs of the churches in Leyden, and who is well acquainted with the mode of interment at different periods, informed me that this sum was paid only for the hire, for a few years, of a place immediately under the pavement in one of a large number of square pits, containing space sufficient for four coffins. *At the end of seven years, these bodies were all removed.* For tombs which were walled up the prices paid were much higher. The profession of each person buried is named in the register; and those against whose names the receipt of nine florins is put were, I found, invariably persons in the humblest walks of life, journeymen-weavers, &c.; while others, who are noted as mechanics or artisans, were buried in places of fifteen and eighteen florins. While looking over this record, Mr. Van Pecker remembered, that, previously to 1812, there had been in the hands of the secretary of the *Kerkmeesters* a *Gravenboeck*, or general record of burials in Leyden. During that year, this book was deposited among the archives at the Stadt House, where it now is. The record of Robinson's interment, as it appears in that, I shall give in a note,‡ merely mentioning here, that, while the day of his death is stated in Roger White's letter to be the 1st of March, the day of his funeral appears by the *Gravenboeck* to have been the 4th of March, and the day on which the interment fees were paid appears, by the church receipt-book, to have been the 10th of March.

But to return. I have perhaps shown to your satisfaction,

* See Note C.

† The proportion of the florin to the *fine mark of Cologne* was the same at that time as at present. The value of the florin, in United States currency, is forty cents.

‡ Note C.

that no church was granted to Robinson's congregation; and also, that, from the want of any contemporary testimony to the fact of attentions at his grave, and from the fact that the plague raged at the time of his death, during which all public funerals were prohibited, there is good reason for believing that no such attentions as have been narrated were shown.

I have found, however, evidence of an attention on the part of the University of Leyden to Robinson, which does not appear to be mentioned by any of our authors. It is his admission, in 1615, as a subject of the University, — an admission which exempted him from the control of the town magistrates, and which, in addition to several other privileges, entitled him to receive, free of town and state duties, every month, half a tun of beer, and every three months about ten gallons of wine.* This privilege was extended, as an honorary distinction, to many persons of eminence who visited Leyden; and the learned Dr. Siegenbeck, the historian of the University, mentioned to me the possibility of Robinson's name being inscribed in its books, although he was himself unaware of such being the case, and also unaware of the fact that such a person or that such a congregation had ever been in Leyden. †

On looking over the catalogue of the students admitted after 1609, which is not printed, but a part of which has been recently copied by order of the Senate of the University, I found the record of Robinson's admission in the following words: —

"1615,
Sept. 5°. Joannes Robintsonus, Anglus,
Coss: permissu. Ann. xxxix.
Stud. Theol. alit Familiam."

It will be seen that this honor was not accorded until after six or seven years' residence in the city, and, from

* See Note D., for an attested copy of his admission, and a notice of the privileges attending it.

† I received, while making these inquiries, a great deal of kind assistance from many of the professors and learned men of Leyden, two of whom, Dr. Dermout and Dr. Leemans, I must thank most cordially; but I was forced to believe that the impression made by the Pilgrims had not been very strong, when I found the fact of their presence for ten years in that town was quite unknown to all with whom I spoke.

the marginal remark, "*Consulum permissu,*" it is not improbable that some objection had been previously made by the town magistrates. The record of the admission of Robert Durie, the pastor of the English church, is in somewhat different form. He arrived at Leyden in 1609, and early the next year received that honor which was so slow in reaching the pastor of the Pilgrims.

The record for him is thus: —

"1610,
Aprilis 27.
Honoris
et ministerii
ergo gratis
inscriptus.

Robertus Duræus, Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ Minister, apud Lugdunenses in Batavia, An. lv. familiam alens."

And again, in the following year, there is another inscription, probably of the son of Durie.

"1611,
Aug. 3. Johannes Duræus, Scholus, An. xii.
Gratis. Stud. Phil. habit. apud Parentes."

It is not improbable that this privilege was given to Robinson on account of the part which he took in opposition to the opinions of Arminius; although in the records of the University there appears no account of those public discussions with Episcopius in which he engaged, and of which both Bradford and Winslow give us notices.* So I am informed by Professor Sandifort, the present Recording Secretary of the University, who was kind enough

* Mr. Young quotes, p. 42, in reference to these discussions, a passage from Hoornbeeck's *Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, 1658. Hoornbeeck was for a long time Professor of Divinity at Utrecht, where, in 1653, he published the first edition of the book to which Mr. Young refers. In that there is no allusion to Robinson as having taken part in any discussions. In the same year, Hoornbeeck removed to Leyden, and there, in 1658, published his second edition, containing the passage referred to. (See Note E.) Mr. Young says that he finds no notice of this discussion in any life of Episcopius Bradford tells us that Episcopius was put to a "non-plus." If one may believe in the great powers of argument that the biographers of Episcopius accord him, this will appear to be no small triumph. In *Het Leven van Simon Episcopius*, Amsterdam, 1776, many discussions are mentioned, from all of which he came off triumphant. His peculiar powers were, however, particularly displayed on one occasion, when opposing Dr. Sibrandus. "In the year 1610, Episcopius held a public disputation with Dr. Sibrandus, and in this his language was so clear, his logic so strong, and his arguments so convincing, that many who knew nothing of the Latin tongue declared themselves converted to his side. One burgher, in particular, on hearing the discussion, became convinced of the truth of Episcopius's doctrine, and being asked how he could judge, as they spoke only in Latin, of which he knew not a word, replied, — *Die eerst kwaad wordt, die heeft het verlooren,* — 'The first who becomes angry, he I know has lost.'"

to examine for me the *Acta Senatûs Academici* for 1612, 1614, and 1615. But as such public disputations were at that time of constant recurrence in Leyden, and of little importance in their results, it was very rare that any record of them was made. It is to be lamented that in these discussions Robinson is found taking the part of the bigots. But principles, in a certain sense, change with times, and it would be unjust to judge his conduct by the standard of other days than his own. There are few, I think, among the sons of the Pilgrims, who would not wish to find him ranged with the friends, rather than with the persecutors and final butchers, of the wise, the just, the generous Barneveldt.*

Some words used by Governor Bradford in his correspondence with the "Directors and Counsellors of the Colony of New Netherlands" have been also frequently referred to as a proof of the favorable position in which the Pilgrims stood towards the Dutch when in Holland; but a little reflection upon the circumstances under which those letters were written will, I think, somewhat lessen their value as evidence in regard to this point. The correspondence is preserved in Governor Bradford's letter-book, to which I have before referred, and is published in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* The first letter from the Dutch officers, which is not given in the letter-book, contained, as we may infer from the reply, many fine congratulatory words, and also propositions of friendship and commerce. Its date was March 9th, 1627. The reply, of March 19th, 1627, alludes to the professions of good-will contained in the Dutch letter, adding, that they are "expressed with over high titles"; and after congratulating the Dutch Directors and Council on the friendship then subsisting between their two governments at home, which should alone make them also friends, continues: — "Yet are many of us further tied by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country, having lived there many years with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do to this day;

* The active part which the professors of Leyden, opposed to Arminius, took in the pursuits against Barneveldt, Hugo Grotius, and others, will be found mentioned in nearly all the contemporary notices, as also in Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries.*

for which we are bound to be thankful and our children after us, and shall never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own for ever." *

When, a few months later, Isaac de Razier, the chief merchant and second of the governors of the New Netherlands, arrived at Plymouth, he was received, as the marginal notes of Bradford state, with all possible honor, — a boat being sent for him, in which he "came honorably attended with a noise of trumpeters." They seem to have understood one another very well, neither having been deceived by the kind expressions of the other. Of the Dutch offers of assistance Bradford says, — "The which, though we know it was with an eye to their own profit, yet we had reason both kindly to accept it and make use of it."

But although his reply was couched in even more than friendly terms, this movement of the Dutch was watched with great jealousy. Their friendship was not to be rejected, yet there was danger in too great an intimacy, and it was to be feared by the colonists that their advantages of trade with the natives might be soon usurped by their enterprising neighbours. That Bradford was not quite at ease, notwithstanding the tone of their mutual compliments and the "noise of trumpeters," may be inferred from the letter which a short time after (June 15, 1627) he wrote to "The Council of New England" in England. After expressing an opinion as to the rising influence of the Dutch colony, and the importance of guarding against them, he says, — "For strength of men and fortification, they far exceed us, and all in this land. . . . . The effect of their letters being friendly and congratulatory, *we answered them in like sort.*" †

The value of an inference drawn from compliments passed under such circumstances is, perhaps, not very great.

One evidence of the poverty of the Pilgrims while in Holland may be found in the fact of the hard terms to which they were compelled to submit in their contract with the "merchant adventurers" in England, who supplied them

* See *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. III., p. 51.
† Ibid., p. 56.

with the means to emigrate to America and lay the foundation of their colony. Every person above sixteen was to be counted as ten pounds in the capital stock; and the "merchant adventurer," who advanced one hundred pounds in England, was to receive, at the end of seven years, as much of the profits of the colony as did *ten* of its hard-toiling founders; and this in addition to a share of the land they had brought under cultivation, and the buildings they had raised. The colonists were not even allowed the liberty, possessed at the present day by a Valachian serf or a Spanish slave, to work two days in the week for themselves individually; but were compelled by their agreement to toil untiringly for seven years, and always for the benefit of the Company.*

Taking into view, then, the care and suffering that they endured in Holland, as shown by their own early writings, — the absence in these writings of all notice of any attentions from the magistrates, — viewing also the fact, that no traces can now be found of their having enjoyed any public place of worship, and also that the honor of admission to University privileges was not accorded to their pastor until after many years,† — viewing, further, the hard terms to which they were forced to submit in order to raise the means for their emigration to America, may we not justly infer that the condition of the Pilgrims while in Holland was one of poverty and obscurity?

I must confess I cannot sympathize with those who

* The conditions of this agreement are to be found in Hubbard's *History*. He does not give the source from which he derived them. Mr. Young supposes them to have been taken from Bradford's journal, and to that he has restored them, placing them within brackets. See Young's *Pilgrims*, pp. 81 – 85.

Hard as these conditions certainly were for persons possessing the character and intelligence of the Pilgrims, they are not unlike such as are sometimes made at the present day by emigrants from the Old World. I remember, when at the island of Elba, seeing in the harbour of Porto Ferrajo a vessel just ready to sail for Pernambuco, having on board two hundred natives of the island. The contract made with each of them, and which was shown to me by the single "merchant adventurer," who, in this case, accompanied them, was, that the expenses of their passage to America, and of their maintenance for five years, were to be paid by him, they to work constantly during that time, at their several trades, for his benefit (excepting only the usual Church *festas*), and, during other five years, to pay to him a part of their earnings.

† I omit, in this connection, the fact, that their former presence in Leyden is now quite unknown to most of the learned men of the University; for that only proves that the memory of good men will not always survive them for two hundred years. I shall give in a note (E.) some of the earliest notices of Robinson with which I met in different works published in Holland and in Germany.

would wish to make it appear otherwise. For to do so would be, to my mind, not only to violate historic truth, but also to dim one of the brightest traits in the Pilgrims' character; — I mean their union, and firm, unbending resolution, displayed under circumstances far less likely to call those qualities into action, than when as colonists they had emigrated to America.

Once at Plymouth, they had no alternative. Their ship had not, it is true, been burned upon the strand; yet few could have any hope of return. The forest was before them, the ocean behind. Placed in such a position, the weak become strong, and men of small courage display an energy, of the possession of which they were themselves before all unconscious. But in Holland, they had before their eyes the temptation of their own English homes; they had a land "less hard" within reach, and nothing to restrain them from enjoying it but a *principle.* Had magisterial favors and physical comfort attended them in Leyden, then there were no self-denial in their position. But this was not the case; the hardness of the country was such that few would come to them, and fewer would bide it out and continue with them, — and many that wished to join them *admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships in Holland.**

And why not give the Pilgrims credit for having endured, unflinchingly, for eleven years, those hardships? Why is it that some writers have found delight in keeping back the fact of their poverty, and in dwelling complacently upon the assumed attentions of the Dutch magistrates? Is it that honest, industrious, independent poverty is a crime? Is it that the attentions of the Schepens and Burgermeesters of a provincial town in Holland can add to the fame of men who, not shrinking from poverty or from danger, left their homes *rather than to sacrifice a principle,* and became, in a foreign land, the fathers of a nation, millions of which now rise up and call them blessed? By their *works* let them be judged.

London, Dec. 22d, 1842.

* See Bradford's journal, Young, p. 45.

NOTES.

Note A. — Page 10.

ENGLISH CHURCH AT LEYDEN.

The occupation, by Leicester, of some parts of Holland, during the reign of Elizabeth, had brought numbers of English to that country, many of whom took up their abodes there. Previously to this, however, commercial factories had been established at different points, many of which were created by Scottish merchants, who had for a long time enjoyed the benefit of favorable treaties between their own sovereigns and the rulers of the Netherlands. By a treaty made December 15, 1550, between Mary, the queen, and Charles the Fifth of Germany, the Scotch were allowed to hold their own boards of commerce, and to enjoy, while in the Netherlands, all the rights and privileges of the Dutch themselves; and, in 1594, an act in confirmation of this was agreed to by James the Sixth and the Dutch States.*

When, in 1585, the treaty was made between Elizabeth and the Seigniors of the Netherlands, by which English troops were to be sent to that country to take part in the war with Spain, it was provided by the fourteenth article of that treaty, that "They [the Dutch] will permit to the governor and the garrison the free exercise of religion, as in England; and to this end, a church will be provided for them in each town." † The churches, thus opened, were frequented by others than the soldiers; and in a few years, there was scarcely a town in Holland, of much importance, that had not its English congregation.

That at Leyden was formed in 1609, in which year it received, by order of the magistrates, a grant of a church, and a subsidy for its pastor, Robert Durie. Their meetings were at first held in the chapel of the Saint Catherine's Almshouse, where they continued until 1622, when another chapel was granted them attached to the Jerusalems Hof. Here they remained until 1644, when they removed to the Falyde Bagyn Hof, a part of the church of which they occupied until 1807.

The historian of Leyden, Van Mieris, to whom I have before referred, records the opening of the English church in the following terms: — "So many English were coming here, that they petitioned (1609) for a church, and also for a salary for their preacher. They received permission to worship in Saint Katherine's Gasthuis. In 1616, their preacher died, and they petitioned the town that the salary might be continued, and paid to such neighbouring preachers as they might employ. Permission to do this was granted, and an order was given

* See *Historie van de Oorlogen en Geschiedenissen der Nederlanderen, door* Van Meteren, Vol. VI., p. 121; also, Wagenaar's *Vaderlandsche Historie*, Vol. VIII., p. 400.

† See Dumont, *Corps Universel du Droit des Gens*, Tome V., Parte I., p. 454.

to the *Rentmeester* of the church capital to pay a proper proportion of the subsidy to such preachers as might come from neighbouring towns, until a new preacher was chosen, and approved by the magistrates. Order dated 20th February, 1617."*

Van Mieris then continues with an act extracted from the *Burgermeesteren en Gerechts Dagboek* of 12th January, 1622, which states, that, owing to the number of different services performed in the Katherine's Gasthuis, it was well to make some change, and the magistrates therefore give to the English the little chapel of Jerusalems Hof.† (The chapel of Saint Catherine was, in 1609, used by the French Protestants in Leyden, and so it still continues to be, in 1842.)

The congregation became, however, too large for this chapel, and on the 11th of March, 1644, the following order was issued by the magistrates, the record of which is by Van Mieris copied from the *Dagboek*: — "The magistrates, hearing that the chapel in the Almshouse of Jerusalem, appropriated as a church or temple for the use of the English community of the Reformed Religion living in this city, was too small to accommodate all their number, ordered the town architect to make an examination of the room in the church of the Bagyn Hof (Beguine Cloister), *formerly used as a fencing-school*; and having heard his report of the length, the breadth, and the height of this room, they find from the forenamed fabricant that this room is larger than the chapel. Wherefore they order and authorize that this room be used by and appropriated to the above-named congregation, and that the preacher's stool, the chairs, benches, seats, &c., be carried there from the Jerusalems Hof chapel; and further, that this room in the Kerk in the Bagyn Hof be in future the church of the English Reformed Community. — *Burgermeesteren en Gerechts Dagboek*, xi. March, 1644."

It will thus be seen that three distinct chapels were allowed them at different times, neither of which has, as I can find, been used at any time by any other English congregation. The little chapel in the Jerusalems Hof appeared to me the most probable one to have been granted to the Pilgrims, and I thought at first that it must have been their place of worship. But it was given, in 1622, to the English church, three years before the death of Robinson, who, we may safely say, once in possession of a church, would not have been driven out of it to make room for another. In the histories of Leyden there is no notice of the use to which it was devoted immediately prior to 1622, although in the books of the Jerusalem Almshouse, now in the hands of Mr. Putkammer, one of the trustees, there is no notice of its having been used by English prior to 1622. In a small room attached to it, there is a large emblazoned copy of the will of its founder, — Walter Cooman, 1467, — which was painted and fastened to the wall in 1618. This would not, I believe, have been done, had the chapel been then in the hands of strangers.

Immediately after 1644, this chapel was used as the assembly-room

* *Beschrijving der Stad Leyden*, Vol. I., p. 99.

† Orlers, in his *Beschrijving der Stadt Leyden*, p. 143, says of the Jerusalems Gasthuis in 1641: — "Dit Cappelletzen wert tegenwoordeele ghebrupekt by de Engelsche Ghemeente doende Professie van de Gereformeende Relijie," — This chapel is at present used by the English sect professing the Reformed Religion.

of the *Beer Guild*, and so continued until 1795, when all guilds were abolished, and it is now (1842) a storehouse for turf to be burned in a neighbouring mill. This chapel is on the *Broedertjesgracht*, and has on its front wall the arms of the Brewers, with the words "Bier Drager's Gilden-Hoys." I mention all these particulars, lest any curious American, searching in future for the church of the Pilgrims, should fancy, as I did for a time, that he has found it in the Jerusalems Hof.*

A book was published a few years since, — *History of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam*, by William Steven, Minister of that Church, Edinburgh, 1833, — which contains some notices of the different English churches in Holland, not so accurate, however, as to permit their being implicitly relied on. Speaking of Leyden, the author says, — "As many British residents resorted to this rising seat of learning, the States of Holland and the magistrates of the town instituted and endowed, at their joint expense, a Scottish church in 1609." — p. 312. Again: — "The Brownists had a chapel here, *and their pastor was Mr. John Smith.* In the printed histories of Leyden there is no mention made of this religious sect, and the probability is that it did not long exist. The English who settled in this town were genteel families, whom the superior advantages of education drew to Leyden in considerable numbers; and there were besides a few cloth manufacturers, and other artisans." — p. 312.

This English, or "Scottish church," is the only church of either nation, in relation to which any record can be found in the *Acts of the Reformed Church at Leyden.* So I am told by the Rev. Dr. Dermout, a most learned and accomplished divine of Leyden, who has probably studied with more care than any living person in Holland the early history of its church. The fact of the presence of Robinson's congregation for a time at Leyden was known to him, from its being stated in Neal's *History of the Puritans*, a translation of which into Dutch, under the title *Historie der Rechtzinninge Puriteinen*, was made by Jan Ross, and published in 1752, at Rotterdam. The records of the Reformed Church — *Acten des Kerkenraads* — are now in the hands of Dr. Dermout, by whom they have been recently arranged; but those prior to 12th October, 1620, are lost. Had there been, however, any intercourse between Robinson's congregation and the Dutch churches, there would probably be some notice of it at the time of his death. Dr. Dermout and myself went carefully over the records for 1625 and 1626, but no notice whatever of Robinson or his congregation was to be found. This gentleman was kind enough to make further search, and below you have the different notices in relation to the English church which were found in the *Acts.*

The names of the preachers of this church are constantly printed in the little calendar, or *Orde de Feest en Lijdinsteksten in de Hemeente te Leiden*, and the following is a leaf cut from that volume.

* There is yet another historian of Leyden, Leeven, whose book was published in 1672. The great work of Van Mieris is, however, superior to all others. Leeven speaks of *the* English sect as having a room, at that time, in the Falyde Bagyn Hof; but he has no mention of any other English congregation.

"PREDIKANTEN IN DE ENGELSCHE GEMEENTE.

Robertus Durie, *beroepen* 1609 ; *gestorven* 1616.
Hugo Goudgier, *ber.* 1617; *gestorven* 1661. [Teekent Hugo Goodierus in actis Goudiart.]
Mattheus Newcomen, *beroepen uit Engeland* 1663 ; *gestorven* 1669.
Eduardus Richardson, Doct. Theol., *ber.* 1670 ; *op zijn verzoek ontslagen* 1674.
Henrikus Hickman, *ber. uit Engeland* 1675 ; *gestorven* 1691.
Wilhelmus Castares, *als tweede Predikant beroepen* 1688 ; *vertrokken tot den dienst van Zijne Brittannische Majesteit* 1689.
Robbertus Fleming, *ber. uit Engeland* 1692 ; *vertrokken naar Rotterdam in de Schotsche Kerk* 1695.
Johannes Milling, (*Pred. in het leger*), 1696 ; *vertrokken naar Dublin* 1702.
Robb. Milling, Prop., *ber.* 1702 ; *vertrokken naar 's Gravenhage* 1716.
Thomas Gowan, *ber. van Drumbo in Ierland* 1716 ; *gestorven* 1758.
William Mitchell, Prop., *ber.* 1753; *gestorven* 1807, *ruim* 81 *jaren oud ; — wanneer de Engelsche Kerk gesloten is.*"

The following extracts from the church records are interesting, as they show in some degree the feeling of an English preacher at that time, and show also that what has been so freely charged upon the Pilgrims as intolerance was not exclusively monopolized by them. Some who have been disposed to regard the Pilgrims as patterns of bigotry may perhaps be surprised at these acts on the part of a church favored by the government, the members of which, as Steven tells us, were men of "genteel families, whom the superior advantages of education drew to Leyden."

"*Extract uit de Handelingen des Kerkeraads van de Nederduitsche Hervormde Gemeente te Leijden.*

"1630. 1 Maart. *Richard Parsons* verzoekt by requeste dat hij zoude mogen in de Duijtsche Kerke alhier worden aangenomen, niettegenstaande dat de Kerkeraad van de Engelsche Kerke hem geene attestatie begeert te geven. Is goedgevonden, dat men den Predikant Goodier daarover zal aanspreken.

"15 Maart. Alzoo de Engelsche Kerk persisteert geene attestatie te willen geven aan R. Parsons, oordeelt deze Vergadering dat de voorzegde R. P. met alle gevoegelyke middelen zal zien de attestatie te bekomen, doch dat hy wel zoude doen bij de Engelsche Kerk te blijven.

"2 Aug. R. Parsons gepraesenteerd hebbende een request aan de achtb. magistraat, om uit de Engelsche Kerk te mogen overgaan in de Duitsche ; [waarin hij klaagt, dat hij geweerd is van het Avondmaal en geene attestatie kan bekomen, omdat hy eenen zoon heeft die de Engelsche spraak niet verstaat en dien hy niet met zich ter predicatie nemen kan, maar dien hy zelf naar de Duitsche preek moet brengen, omdat hy anders terstond weder ter kerke uitgaat :] Is goedgevonden den Engelschen Predikant aantespreken en te induceren, om hem met attestatie te laten gaan.

"23 Aug. R. Parsons is aangezegd, dat de Engelsche Predikant zwarigheid blyft maken, om hem te dimitteren, maar hem in de En-

gelsche kerk wil blyven toelaten, ofschoon hy zynen zoon in de Duitsche Kerk brengt ; en met eenen gebeden die zaak zoo te laten verblijven.

" 1638. 23 Julij. Is aangediend van een zeker lidmaat van de Engelsche Kerk, [*Henrick Staffart.*] dat hij van het Avondmaal wordt afgehouden, omdat hij zyn Chirurgijns. of barbiers-ambt Zondags 's morgens voör de predicatie of voör half negenen, tot gerief van vele arme luiden of werklieden, die de geheele week arbeiden en tot onderhoud van zyn huisgezin uitoefent, volgens de keure van den Magistraat ; verzoekende hulp en raad van deze Vergadering. Is goedgevonden den goeden man te raden, dat hy alsnog attestatie verzoeke van de Engelsche Kerk, en voor zoo verre men hem dat weigert, te verzoeken eene attestatie naar waarheid.

" 6 Aug. Is aangediend, dat de Engelsche Chirurgijn van den Engelschen Kerkeraad verzocht hebbende eene attestatie, met insertie van hetgeen de Kerk tegen hem had, niet had kunnen obtineren. Is goedgevonden dat men D. Goodier daarover zal begroeten.

" 27 Aug. Is voorgelezen het antwoord van Mr. Goodier. Is goedgevonden hem nog eens te spreken, en hem te zeggen dat deze Vergadering de proceduren niet kan billijken, en zoo er niet werd geaccordeerd, dat wij hem (den Chirurgyn) niet zouden kunnen zonder hulpe laten.

" 17 Sept. Zekere Engelschman, lidmaat van de Engelsche Kerk, *Nicolaas Oliardt* genaamd alleen (zoo hy zegt.) aldaar van het Avondmaal ontzegd, omdat hy eenige malen onze predicatieën had gefrequenteerd, verzoekt de hulpe dezer Vergadering, ten einde hij of wederopgenomen, of met attestatie gedimitteerd zoude worden.

" Beide deze zaken alzoo gebleken zynde, en de Engelsche Kerkeraad eene schriftelyke beschuldiging inleverende bij den Magistraat, waarin niets anders wezenlyks tegen beide werd ingebragt, zijn zij op bevel der Regering den 2en Dec. 1639. aangenomen als leden der Nederduitsche Gemeente, alsmede de Dochter van Staffart. onder protest van Ds. Goodier.

" Eodem die. 2 Dec. 1639. Is mede gerapporteerd dat met Ds. Goodier is gehandeld belangende den persoon van *Nicolaas Gildinus.* die eene vrouw van onze Gemeente getrouwd hebbende, verzocht zyne attestatie om bij ons te komen, tegen welken by hem Goodier deze ergernissen als verhindering van attestatie zyn voortgebragt : eerst, dat hy den geheelen Zondag toebak verkocht ; daarna, dat hij des Zondaags vermaand zynde zyne vensters te willen sluiten, nochtans die altyd had opengehouden ; voegende niettemin daarbij, dat hij anders een bescheiden man was. Waarop gehoord zynde in deze Vergadering de voorn. Gildinus en verstaan zyn antwoord. nam. dat wel mogt zyn, dat nu en dan op den Zondag de een en de ander om tabak komende was besteld geworden, maar dat zulks was geschied zonder dat hy daarom de oefening van den Godsdienst had nagelaten, beloofde ook in het toekomende denzelven getrouwelyk te willen oefenen. De Vergadering heeft goedgevonden hem tot een lidmaat dezer Gemeente aantenemen.

" 1655. 23 April. Ds. Lantsman vraagt, hoe dat hy zich zoude hebben te gedragen nopens zekeren Engelschman van der Brownisten Vergadering, die zulks is verzoekende om by onze kerk aangenomen te worden. Wordt Ds. Lantsman toebetrouwd om met hem te handelen over zyne confessie, en bijaldien hy daarin gezond zal worden

bevonden, als mede de Kerken-ordre niet tegensprekende, by name in het stuk van den Kinderdoop, hem naar gewoonlyke ordre aantenemen.

"Voor extract conform.

"I. DERMOÚT, *Theol. Doct.*
Predikant by de Nederd. Hervormde Gemeente.

"LEYDEN, 13 December, 1841."

TRANSLATION.

Extract from the Journal of the Church Council of the Dutch Reformed Communion in Leyden.

1630. 1 March. Richard Parsons states in a petition, that he is desirous of making his confession of faith in the Dutch church; notwithstanding which, the council of the English church refuse to give him an attestation. It is resolved that the preacher Goodier shall be spoken with in regard to this.

15 March. The English church persisting in its refusal of an attestation to Richard Parsons, the assembly is of the opinion that the said R. P. should try by all convenient means to get the attestation, but that he would do well to remain by the English church.

2 Aug. Richard Parsons having presented to the Right Honorable Magistrates a request that he may be permitted to leave the English church and join that of the Dutch, — in which petition he complains that he has been both shut off from the communion table, and refused an attestation, because, having a son who does not understand the English language, he has taken him to the Dutch church, he being obliged to accompany his son, for otherwise he leaves the church immediately, — it has been resolved to speak about this with the English preacher, and induce him to dismiss Parsons with an attestation.

23 Aug. It was announced to Richard Parsons, that the English preacher still opposes difficulties to his dismission, but consents to let him remain in the English church, notwithstanding that he carries his son to the Dutch church; and so he is recommended to let the matter stand.

1638. 23 July. By direction of the magistrates, who ask the aid and counsel of this assembly, it has been reported by a certain member of the English church, Henry Staffart, that he is refused admission to the Last Supper, because he exercises his profession of barber-surgeon on Sunday mornings before the time of service, that is, before half past eight o'clock, which is for the benefit of numbers of poor men and working people that are employed throughout the whole week, and also for the maintenance of his own household. It has been resolved to counsel the good man to ask first an attestation from the English church, and, should this be refused, then to ask an attestation of the truth [facts].

6 Aug. It is reported that the English barber, having asked of the English church council a certificate of the griefs the church has against him, could not obtain it. It is resolved that Ds. Goodier shall be spoken with in relation to this.

27 Aug. The answer of Mr. Goodier is read. It is resolved to converse with him again, and to inform him that this assembly cannot approve the proceedings, and that, if the affair be not arranged, they will not leave the chirurgeon without help.

17 Sept. A certain Englishman, member of the English church, named Nicholas Oliardt, having, as he states, been shut off from the communion table for no other cause than that he had sometimes attended the Dutch preaching, begs the assistance of this assembly, to the end either that he may be readmitted to the communion table, or dismissed with an attestation.

Both these affairs being thus known, and the English church council having presented a written accusation against Staffart and Oliardt to the magistrates, in which, however, no other real charge than the above was made against either ; they were both, according to the orders of the government, received as members of the Dutch communion, and also the daughter of Staffart, — Ds. Goodier protesting.

Eodem die, 2 Dec., 1639. It has also been reported what has occurred with Ds. Goodier in relation to Nicholas Gildinus, a person who, being married to a woman of our church, asked his permission to join us, against which are objected by Goodier the following griefs in impeachment of the granting him an attestation : — 1st. That he, during the whole of Sunday, was selling tobacco; 2d. That, having been admonished to close his windows on Sundays, he nevertheless always kept them open, adding, however, that except this he was a well behaved man. Whereupon the answer of Gildinus, as heard in this assembly was thus : "That it might be that now and then he had given tobacco to one and the other who had come for it, but that this had occurred without his neglecting the exercises of God's service, which he promised also for the future faithfully to observe." The assembly was pleased to accept him as a member of this communion.

1655. 23 April. Ds. Lantsman asks how he shall conduct himself in relation to a certain Englishman, of the Brownist assembly, who has requested to be admitted to our church. It has been confided to Ds. Lantsman to converse with him about his confession, and if he should be found healthy in that, and also not disputing the doctrines of the church [*Kerken-ordre*], especially as to infant baptism, then to admit him in the ordinary manner.

Note B. — Page 15.

ROBINSON'S SERMON.

In Morton's *New England's Memorial*, page 235, we have a notice of Winslow's mission to England in the following words : — "1646. This year, Mr. Edward Winslow went for England, upon occasion that some discontented persons under the government of the Massachusetts sought to trouble their peace, and disturb, if not innovate, their government, by laying many scandals upon them, and intended to prosecute against them in England, by petitioning and complaining to the Parliament. Also Samuel Gorton and his company made complaint against them; so as they made choice of Mr. Winslow to be their agent to make their defence, and gave him commission and instructions for that end, in which he so carried himself *as did well answer their ends*, and cleared them from any blame and dishonor, to the shame of their adversaries."

Upon the petition of the "discontented persons" Judge Davis remarks, in his notes to Morton (p. 236), that "they do not appear so malignant or unreasonable as they were esteemed when they were in agitation"; and another historian, Backus, looks with equally lenient eyes at the proceedings of Gorton and his companions. (See *History of New England*, by Isaac Backus, Vol. I., pp. 195–204.) The colony had, however, been attacked; Winslow was to defend it; and in its defence the *Brief Narration* was written.

It was in this that first appeared that remarkable sermon, said to have been delivered by Robinson, at the parting of the Pilgrims from their brethren in Holland. Of this sermon the learned Judge Davis remarks (note, p. 29, Morton's *New England's Memorial*): — "It would be a culpable omission not to insert in this connection Mr. Robinson's exhortation to his people, in his fast sermon in July, 1620, 'which breathes,' says Dr. Belknap, 'a noble spirit of Christian liberty, and gives a just idea of the sentiments of this excellent divine, whose charity was the more conspicuous because of his former narrow principles, and the general bigotry of the reformed ministers and churches of that day.' It is difficult to explain why this excellent advice was not preserved in the *Memorial, or copied, as were many other documents of less interest, into the church records*. . . . . The following extract is copied from Dr. Belknap's life of Robinson; he quotes Neal's *History of New England* as his authority." Judge Davis states that "Mr. Prince gives an extract of this exhortation from Winslow's relation." But the "extract" of Prince is *all* that either Neal or Belknap gives.

If the sermon, as in Neal (p. 83), be compared with the *extract* in Prince (p. 89), or with the original of Winslow in Young's *Pilgrims* (p. 396), it will be seen that they are the same, — that the *whole* sermon as given by Neal is no longer than the *extract* given by Prince, — and that the only difference is in the change of the *third* person, used by Winslow, to the *first* person, used by Neal. Neal has given no authority for this sermon. Hutchinson says (in his preface to his first volume), that Neal's book "is little more than an abridgment of Dr. Mather"; and if we turn to Cotton Mather, we shall find (Book I., p. 14, fol. edit.) the sermon in the form which Neal, Belknap, and others, have copied. Cotton Mather gives no authority, but he has evidently drawn from Winslow, changing the person and form, and rounding off some sentences to produce more effect, but without adding a single idea. The finding a text seems to have been done by Neal, who appropriates that from Ezra viii. 21, which Governor Bradford gives in his journal as the text of a sermon preached by Robinson before their departure from Holland. Mather speaks also of this sermon and text from Ezra (p. 6), but mentions it as if different from the often quoted sermon, which he gives in another place. Was that sermon ever preached by Robinson? The only authority which can be found for it is Winslow, and he gives, in an informal manner, twenty-six years after the time when the discourse is supposed to have been pronounced, that which forms the groundwork of the sermon in Mather, Neal, and others. Had Winslow taken notes of this discourse at the time, one may well be surprised, with the learned Judge Davis, that its "excellent advice was not copied, as were many other documents of less interest, into the church records." Had he taken no notes, his memory must have been of a superior order to enable him to write out a discourse which

he had listened to twenty-six years before. But he does not pretend to give us a positive discourse, in the manner of Mather, but says, — "Amongst other wholesome instructions and exhortations, he [Mr. Robinson] used these expressions, *or to the same purpose.*" (Young's *Pilgrims*, p. 396.)

Note C. — Page 17.

BURIAL OF ROBINSON.

Of the inscription in the *Blaffaarden van de Hoofd-Kerken*, recording the receipt of nine florins for the opening and hire of a tomb for Robinson, the following is a fac-simile, certified by Dr. Dermout, to whom I have before alluded, and by Mr. de Pecker.

[See fac-simile on opposite page.]

Translation.

"1625
10 March — Open and hire for John Robens, English preacher —— 9 florins."

The volume from which this is taken is, as I have mentioned before, the record of church receipts. In the *Gravenboeck*, or book of interments, which was deposited in the Stadt Huis in 1812, the following record appears of Robinson's interment.

"1625
4 Maart — Jan Roelends, Predicant van de Engelsche Gemeente, by het Klockhuijs, — begraven in de Pieter's Kerk."

Translation.

John Roelends, Preacher of the English sect,
by the Belfry, — buried in the Peter's Church.

The words "by the Belfry" allude to the residence of the deceased, which is mentioned against the name of each person. Near the Belfry of Leyden there was a large square, on one side of which alone were a few houses; so that such a direction was perhaps sufficiently explicit.

The Church of St. Peter is the oldest in Leyden, and the date of the first building is now quite unknown. In September, 1121, Godebald, twenty-fourth bishop of Utrecht, consecrated it by the name of St. Peter and St. Paul, and in 1339 it was much enlarged. (See Orlers's *History of Leyden.*) It contains now several monuments, among them, one to Boerhaven, one to Scaliger, &c.

Note D. — Page 18.

ADMISSION TO THE UNIVERSITY.

An old book, printed at Leyden in 1713, entitled *Les Délices de Leide*, gives the following account of the privileges enjoyed by the students.

10 maart | Copij van pieces voor Jay Hobart wijfd. producerant | 4

Extract fidelis ex Registro
intitulé Classicaarboeken van de
Hollandsche Kerken Ao. 1619 tot 1629. —

J. Dermout Th. Doct
V. D. M.
Pasteur de l'Eglise Reformee Hollandaise

Copied before me,
G. S.
Leyden Decr. 13 1841

J. de Decker
Commis-Administrateur des Eglises
reformées de Leide.

"Les etudians aussi quels qu'ils soient, y'ont beaucoup de beaux Privileges ; comme d'avoir tous les mois, sans payer les Droits de l'Etat et de la Ville, chacun une demi-Tonne de Biere, et tous les trois mois vingt stoopen de Vin (chaque Stoop contient quatre pintes) et d'n'être jugés dans leurs diverses querelles et différens que par le Recteur Magnifique, quatre Assesseurs, quatre Bourgemaitres et deux Echevins (Scheepenen) quand même il y aûroit en quelque meurtre ; *et autres libertez*. . . . . Les personnes de la plus haute qualité, Princes, Comtes, Marquis, Barons, &c., &c., se font un honneur d'y voir paroître leur Nom et d'avoir été sujets de l'Academie."—p. 71.

These "fine privileges" continued to be enjoyed by the students until 1795, when, in the movement that followed in Holland the French Revolution, all old chartered privileges of a similar nature were broken up. The magisterial powers possessed by the University had, however, long previously to that time, given annoyance to the town's-people of Leyden, and produced, perhaps, as many heart-burnings as one sees existing at the present day between the academical and municipal officers of Cambridge and Oxford.

The following is the record of Robinson's admission to the University of Leyden, certified by Dr. Kist, one of the professors of the University.

"In albo Civium Academiæ Lugdvno-Batavæ, *die 5° Septembris, Anni* 1615, inscriptus est, '*Consulum permissu* :

"'Joannes Robintsonus, Anglus, Ann. XXXIX., Stud. Theol. alit familiam.'

Q. T.

"L. B. d. 10 Dec. A. 1841. V. J. Kist, Th. D. et Prof. pro Senatus Academia ab actis."

Copied in my presence.
G. S.

Note E.

EARLY NOTICES OF ROBINSON.

In the MSS. catalogue of the University Library at Leyden, the name of Robinson does not appear, neither is it in the old printed catalogue of 1750. In the Royal Library at Paris is a Latin copy of his *Apology*, dated 1619, though no other books appear against his name.

The earliest notice of Robinson that I can find in any work printed in Holland is one given twenty-eight years after his death, by John Hoornbeeck, in his book, *Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, Trajecti ad Rhenum (Utrecht), 1653. In his tenth chapter he devotes nearly a hundred pages to the Brownists, and, speaking of Robinson, says, — "Optimus inter illos fuit, de quo postremum dicendus, Johannes Robinsonus, quoque Leidensium Separatistarum Minister, vir supra reliquos probus atque eruditus." He speaks of Ames and Parker as having mollified Robinson in some degree, although he would not allow entire communion with the Dutch church ; and mentions Robinson's

Apology as having been printed in Latin in 1619 and in English in 1644; but I can find no allusion to a controversy with Episcopius, a passage relating to which Mr. Young has copied (p. 42) from the second edition of Hoornbeeck, printed at Leyden in 1658. Is it not probable that the fame of this discussion had not reached Hoornbeeck at Utrecht, but that he first heard of it at Leyden, to which place he removed in the same year that his first edition was published?

The second notice is in 1687, in Horn's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, published during that year at Leyden. This book, however, must be well known in America. Prince refers frequently to it, and also Young, in his notes. Speaking of the Separatists, he mentions Brown, then Barrow, Johnson, and Smith, and continues, — "Ita languentem et animam agentem Separatismum restituit* Robinsonus, Pastor Leidensis, doctissimus ac modestissimus omnium Separatistarum, qui ab Amesio et Parkero in viam revocatus, rigidas Separatistarum opiniones mitigavit et Semi-Separatismum fundavit. Et hic Robinsonus verus author *Independentium* hodiernorum et in nova et in veteri Anglia est. De quibus hoc in universum tenendum est: eos in doctrina nihil vel parum, in nullo saltem articulo fundamentali discrepare ab aliis Reformatis Ecclesiis. Cæterum majorem puritatem, vitæ sanctitatem ac perfectionem præ se ferunt."

In *Memorabilia Ecclesiastica Seculi Decimi Septimi, per* And. Carolum, published at Tübingen in 1697, is a short notice of Robinson, which is compiled from Hoornbeeck's second edition and from Horn. He has the statement given in Young, p. 453, that the widow, children, and friends were received into the Dutch church.

In Hoffman's *Lexicon Universale*, Lugduni Bat., 1698, Vol. IV., p. 74, is a notice of *Henry* Robinson, in which part of the above section of text from Horn appears. Under the head, "Separatistæ, *nomen sectæ in Anglia*," he mentions Brown, Smith, and Robinson, and copies again a part of the foregoing paragraph of Horn, to whom he refers as authority. Under "Independentes" a long notice is given, compiled also from Horn, in which the name of Robinson is mentioned.

In the *Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Kunste*, Leipzig, 1724, in 24 vols., folio, John Robinson is mentioned as an English preacher who left his fatherland on account of persecution. "Er wird auch von seinen Freunden gerühmet, dass er fromm und gelehrt gewesen, auch von denen Leydnischen Professoren sehr hoch gehalten, und seine Apologie überaus allen Gottesgelehrten zu recommendiren sey." The article continues by stating, that, after Robinson's death, his congregation went to New England, whence many returned during the time of Cromwell. For this last statement his authority is Arnold's *Kirch Historie;* for that in regard to the Leyden professors, he refers to Hoornbeeck, Lib. X., p. 775.

After this, all the notices of Robinson that I met with in Dutch books were drawn either from Hoffman's *Lexicon*, or directly from Horn. Some notices in more recent works are taken from Neal's

* "Optimam operam navavit in refutandis Arminianis. Extat ipsius Apologia moderata, docta, brevis. Independentismus Democratia est, desinens in ἀναρχίαν, perimens Jura Regiminis Ecclesiastici, Presbyterii, Classium, Synodorum, quæ tamen Scripturaria sunt, et defendenda contra Episcopatus hodierni Hierachiam." — pp. 398, 399.

History of the Puritans, which, as I have before stated, was translated into Dutch by Jan Ross, and published in 1752, under the title, *Historie der Rechtzinninge Puriteinen.*

Note F.

There is in the writings of the Pilgrims no allusion, I believe, to the individuals who composed the magistracy of Leyden. Should any such be found at a future day, the following list of those officers for the years 1609 and 1620 will perhaps not be without interest. It is taken from Orler's *History of Leyden*, p. 650.

1609.

Schout.

Loth Huygenszon Gael.

Burgermeesteren.

Claes Adriaenszon.
Foy van Brouckhoven.
Henrich Egbertson van der Hal.

Schepenen.

Vranck van Thorenvliedt.
Jasper van Bauchem.
Andries Jasperson van Vesanwelt.
Adriaen Peterszon van der Werf.
Frans Adriaens van Leeuwen.
Willem Govers van der Aar.
Amelis van Hogeveen.
Mr. Clemens van Baersdorp.

1620.

Schout.

Mr. Willem de Bondt.

Burgermeesteren.

Andries Jaspers van Vesanevelt.
Mr. Jacob van Brouckhoven.
Jacob Cornelisz. Leeusveldt.
Daniel Symonszon van Alphen.

Schepenen.

Jan de Bendt.
Symon Willems van Kerchem.
Jan. Janz. Orlers.
Adrian Henricz. van Tetrode.
Pieter Cornelis de Haes.
Dr. Willem van Moerbergen.
Cornelius Henricz. van Goten.

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